

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 00902 01 OF 02 111800Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----119000 111801Z /42  
O 111733Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4123

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 00902

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST

E.O. 11652: X GDS 3  
TAGS: PINT IT FR  
SUBJECT: ITALIAN SITUATION

REF: STATE 303347

1. THE CURRENT FRENCH VIEW OF ITALIAN SITUATION  
IS A MIXTURE OF CAUTION, HOPE AND IMPOTENCE.  
CAUTION, BECAUSE GOF FEELS STRONGLY THAT EXTERNAL  
INTERFERENCE AT THIS POINT IS NOT LIKELY TO HAVE  
THE DESIRED CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECT, BUT IS MORE LIKELY  
TO INHIBIT THE ITALIAN PARTIES' DELICATE MARGINS  
OF MANOEUVRE. HOPE, ALBEIT MORE AND MORE DUBIOUS,  
BECAUSE GOF, LIKE MANY OTHERS IN EUROPE, CONTINUES  
TO BELIEVE THAT THE LAWS OF POLITICS ARE SOMEHOW  
DIFFERENT IN ITALY AND THAT THE ITALIANS MAY THEREFORE  
ONCE AGAIN DO A HOUDINI AND EMERGE WITH STILL ANOTHER  
NEW LEASE ON THEIR POLITICAL LIFE. AND A SENSE OF  
IMPOTENCE, BECAUSE HERE AS ELSEWHERE NO ONE HAS  
ANY VERY PERSUASIVE IDEAS OF WHAT COULD IN FACT BE  
DONE TO SAVE THE ITALIANS FROM THEMSELVES.

2. THESE PASSIVE TENDENCIES ARE BUTTRESSED BY THE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 00902 01 OF 02 111800Z

CURRENT RATHER MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD FRENCH ANALYSIS.  
FOR THE SHORT TERM THE PREVAILING VIEW  
AT QUAI, AND WE BELIEVE ALSO AT THE ELYSEE, HAS  
BEEN THAT THE DC WILL BE ABLE TO RESIST DIRECT PCI  
PARTICIPATION--ALTHOUGH, AS IT WAS PUT IN A RECENT  
CONVERSATION THE DC WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE TO MAKE  
SOME "SUBTLE" SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL

CONCESSIONS. CONSEQUENTLY QUAI EXPECTS THAT THE DC WILL SOMEHOW MUDDLE THROUGH, AT LEAST WELL INTO THE SUMMER. EVEN THEN THE FEELING IS THAT THE SITUATION MAY NOT NECESSARILY CHANGE DRASTICALLY, SINCE THE FRENCH TEND TO AGREE WITH EMBASSY ROME'S RECENT OBSERVATION THAT NEW ELECTIONS WOULD PROBABLY NOT ALTER THE PRESENT ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION IN FAVOR OF THE PCI. RATHER THAN PERCEIVING AN EARLY CRISIS, FRENCH OFFICIALDOM CONSEQUENTLY TENDS TO FORSEE A CONTINUING, GRADUALLY DETERIORATING MALAISE. PRINCIPAL DISSENTER FROM THIS VIEW APPEARS TO BE THE CURRENT FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN ROME WHO, UNLIKE HIS STAFF IS REPORTEDLY MOST ALARMED AND MAY THEREFORE BE COUNSELING MORE DECISIVE INTERVENTION.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 00902 02 OF 02 111749Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----118926 111753Z /50  
O 111733Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4124

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 00902

NODIS

3. THE FRENCH VENEER OF SEEMING CALM, BORDERING ON PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE MAY OF COURSE BE DUE TO GOF'S DESIRE NOT TO DRAW ATTENTION TO POSSIBLE SLIPPAGE TOWARD THE PCI IN ITALY BEFORE FRANCE'S OWN CRITICAL ELECTIONS IN MARCH. WE KNOW THAT LAST SPRING GISCARD WAS INTENSELY CONSCIOUS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOI BEFORE THE MARCH ELECTIONS. THIS CONCERN, WE ARE TOLD, HAS NOT ABATED, ALTHOUGH GISCARD TOO MAY NOW BE MORE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT THE DANGER EXISTS BUT IS NOT IMMINENT. HE THEREFORE SEEMS TO BE WAITING PARTLY BECAUSE THE FRENCH THEMSELVES

HAVE CONSISTENTLY CONSIDERED THAT THEY ARE PERHAPS LEAST SUITED TO ADVISE THEIR ITALIAN NEIGHBORS-- EXCEPT IN THE DISCRETEST WAYS. AFTER THE FRENCH ELECTIONS GISCARD WILL UNDOUBTEDLY WANT TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK. IF THE PCI SHOULD GET INTO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE MARCH (AND PARTICULARLY IF ITS PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT IS FOLLOWED BY AN IMPROVEMENT IN ITALIAN LAW AND ORDER) WE OURSELVES EXPECT THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY WILL EARN MARGINAL BUT STILL NOTICEABLE BENEFITS IN THE ELECTIONS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 00902 02 OF 02 111749Z

4. HERE IN PARIS THE MOST USEFUL IMMEDIATE STEP, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD BE TO ESTABLISH MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES WITH THE FRENCH OF OUR PERCEPTIONS OF THE NOW FAST-BREAKING SITUATION IN ITALY --IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO NARROW POSSIBLE DIVERGENCIES IN OUR ASSESSMENTS. SUCH EXPANDED CONTACTS COULD ALSO PROVE IMPORTANT LATER TO PAVE THE WAY FOR MORE CRITICAL EXCHANGES ON A WHOLE RANGE OF FORESEEABLE ISSUES, IF, INDEED, A MORE SERIOUS CRISIS SHOULD ARISE IN ROME.

HARTMAN

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 jan 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978PARIS00902  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** P850103-2072  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** PARIS  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780176/aaaacmdh.tel  
**Line Count:** 145  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** ec8deae4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 77 STATE 303347  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 17 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3793681  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ITALLIAN SITUATION  
**TAGS:** PINT, PINS, PGOV, IT, FR  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/ec8deae4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014